

PRETEXTS OF THE REBELS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS
REFUTED BY THE LOGIC OF FACTS.

Rebellion against Free Government,

AS WELL AS AGAINST THE NATIONAL UNION,

RESULTING FROM THE

CONSPIRACY OF THE SLAVEHOLDING ARISTOCRACY;

ILLUSTRATED IN THE

SPEECH OF THE HON. LORENZO SHERWOOD,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

UNIONISTS OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN,

SEPTEMBER, 1864;

AND ALSO IN THE LETTER OF GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO PRES'T LINCOLN.

WITH AN EXTRACT OF THE CELEBRATED LETTER OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL, THE IRISH LIBERATOR,

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN,

ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

OPINIONS OF SOUTHERN UNIONISTS.

Governor ANDREW JACKSON HAMILTON, one of the most distinguished Representatives of Southern Loyalty, declares, in a letter to the Democratic League, "That these are matters not new to either Mr. Sherwood or myself; nor do we now for the first time interchange opinions upon them. Together we have, in years past, watched THE INEVITABLE TENDENCY IN THE SOUTH TO THE PRESENT DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF OUR COUNTRY. There are FEW MEN of my acquaintance who are so WELL PREPARED, from observation, experience and reflection, to think wisely and act justly in the premises as Mr. SHERWOOD."

"I stand here as one of the Representatives of the Unionists of the South," says LORENZO SHERWOOD, "to tell you, that YOU NEED NOT BE DISCOURAGED. For years I have been placed in contact with the dishonorable and dishonoring motives of treason. For years I have seen exhibited its calculations of resources, and its delusive ideas of success, based, for the most part, upon the supposed pusillanimity of the North. It is now some years SINCE MY VOICE WAS SILENCED ON POLITICAL MATTERS IN THE SOUTH; but, while I have been restrained and watched, I HAVE BEEN QUITE AS WATCHFUL OF THE PLANS OF TREASON. While the traitors of the South have calculated upon and arranged their means of supposed success in throwing off the national jurisdiction, I have contemplated the comparative resources and motives of my countrymen in sustaining it. I have embraced in my calculations the DEMOCRATIC ELEMENT OF THE SOUTH, knowing that, in a little time under conflict, it must be brought into POLITICAL AFFILIATION WITH THE NORTH. I have known that this political element in the South, whose rights have been conspired against, COULD NOT ALWAYS BE DECEIVED. I have assured myself that calamity would lift the veil of this Southern Mokana, and disclose the hideous deformity that lay beneath. I have assured myself that our free countrymen of the North would be made to realize the hypocrisy and false pretensions of treason, and to APPRECIATE THE FULL MEANING OF THE GREAT CONSPIRACY. Our non-slaveholding masses in the South are gradually getting to understand the question better. The information in the North with regard to the secret motives of the traitors, is now being rapidly improved. It is THE BUSINESS OF THE UNION MEN FROM THE SOUTH, coming from THE VERY HEART OF THIS REBELLION, to stamp THE MOTIVES OF THE TREASON UPON THE FUTURE HISTORY OF THIS WAR. Many Southern voices, hitherto silent, are now engaged in the work of bringing the twenty-seven millions of free labor, North and South, into political affiliation. Be not discouraged, my friends, for you may rest assured that this Democratic force, will, in a little time, be brought into substantial unity."

New York:

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNION COMMITTEE.

1864.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE UNION.

The late speech of LORENZO SHERWOOD to the friends of the National Union, in the City of Brooklyn, and the extracts from Governor HAMILTON'S excellent letter to President LINCOLN, herewith presented, furnish brief expositions of the various great questions of Public Policy involved in the Slaveholders' Rebellion. There is scarcely an argument or pretext advanced by the traitors South or North that is not here manfully examined and truthfully exposed.

The extract also herewith presented from O'CONNELL'S celebrated *Letter to his Countrymen in America*, though written twenty years ago, should impress itself now more strongly than ever upon the hearts of all Friends of Human Rights and American Liberty. It sounds now like the Voice of Prophecy from the great Liberator to the People of the Present Generation.

The LOYAL LEAGUES, UNION COMMITTEES, and loyal men generally—Speakers at public meetings, as well as the Electors in their daily intercourse with their fellow-citizens—may all find the facts and arguments presented by Messrs. HAMILTON and SHERWOOD of great value in furnishing ready replies to the perversions of the Rebels and their Northern Sympathizers; and this pamphlet should therefore be widely circulated as one of the BEST CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS OF THE TIMES.

HENRY O'RIELLY,

Secretary of the Democratic League.

NEW YORK, *Sept.*, 1864.

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PRETEXTS OF THE REBELS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS, REFUTED BY THE LOGIC OF FACTS.

MR. SHERWOOD'S SPEECH IN BROOKLYN. [CONCLUDING REMARKS.]

I HAVE endeavored to prove to you, my friends, that this war was the result of jealousy and distrust of slaveholders towards our twenty-seven millions of free white labor. It was certain that this free labor force, in the course of two or three generations, would amount to more than two hundred millions. It was certain that this democratized force, when the population should become crowded, would not be put to inconvenience on account of slavery. It was equally certain that no set of politicians could long bind this free labor power to do the bidding of slaveholders. The difficulty in the mind of the slaveholder was not in the present—it was in the future. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, speaking of the slave, expressed it exactly when he said :

"His condition is not permanent among us, and we may find his exodus in the unvarying laws of population. Under the conditions of labor in England and the continent of Europe, slavery could not exist here, or anywhere else."

He knew that slavery was safe for the present, but knew, as well as the rest of the world knew, that no substantial guaranty could be given to its long continuance in connection with the increase of free labor, the maintenance of civil liberty, and the continuance of the enfranchised power of the democratic masses.

REBEL POSTULATES.

When slaveholders assumed "*that slavery and democracy were incompatible*"—when they asserted their determination "*to eradicate every vestige of radical democracy—every feature tending to make the government of the Confederacy a popular government*"—when they avowed "*that an hereditary senate and executive were the political forms best suited to their genius and ideas of government*"—when they declared that "*the real civilization of a country is in its aristocracy, which must and should be made permanent by laws of entail and primogeniture*"—when they pronounced the democratic doctrine of "*the greatest good of the greatest number*" to be "*a pestilent and pernicious dogma*"—and when at last they finally urged "*that the theory and principles of protective popular government were mistakes in the civilization of the age*"—they declared the whole rebel postulates that constitute the true theory of the rebellion.

MR. LINCOLN'S COMPREHENSION OF THE TRUE ISSUE.

It is fortunate for the country—fortunate for the cause of free institutions—fortunate for the cause of liberal government everywhere, that we have an Executive Chief Magistrate who has not failed to comprehend the true nature of the conflict. Mr. Lincoln, in his first annual message of December, 1861, threw out a note of warning to his countrymen, admonishing them to beware of the ultimate designs of treason. I quote his language in the following extract. Let the words sink deep into every patriotic heart :

"It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principles of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

"In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism."

It would have been well, perhaps, had Mr. Lincoln added the famous declaration of the South Carolina successor of Calhoun, made in the Vicksburg secession convention of 1859. "*Separation from the North,*" said Mr. Spratt, "*will merely adjourn the contest.*" "This Southern democracy [alluding to the non-slaveholders] grapples slavery in its homes and on its hearthstones ; to get rid of it, will cost in the future a still more bloody conflict." Had Mr. Lincoln said that "*Slavery perpetuation was the main-spring of the rebellion, and the establishment of a cemented slave aristocracy was to be made the agency by which slavery was to be perpetuated,*" he would have rounded the paragraph with a truthful addition, now entirely apparent.

FALSE PRETENCES OF NORTHERN SYMPATHIZERS.

Fellow-citizens : it would be idle and dishonest, with the lights before us, to attribute this rebellion to any other cause than the one assigned by the leading secessionists themselves. The false pretences of Northern sym-

pathizers are of no avail against the declaration of motives by the rebel leaders, corroborated by the testimony of the Unionists of the South. A mercenary class, having no regard for the rights or interests of the balance of society, has taken the desperate leap into crime and bloodshed. Its ultimate purpose was to make the interest in human bondage predominant and perpetual, and to subordinate all other classes and interests by giving to slaveholders a monopoly of political power. The nature of the Southern conspiracy has been so well known that various political synonyms have been used to describe it. Richard Cobden of England called it "an aristocratic rebellion against a democratic government." The *New York Herald*, in response, exclaimed: "This is the whole truth in a nutshell." Andrew Johnson called it "a rebellion against democracy." There is no phrase, perhaps, that would more truthfully characterize the nature of the revolt, than to call it "A REBELLION AGAINST THE LAWS OF POPULATION."

My friends, viewing the question from the Southern stand-point, and through what has come to my personal knowledge, it would be criminal in me to ascribe the rebellion to either the abolitionists of the North; to Mr. Lincoln's election; to the party that elected him; or to the great bulk of men composing the so-called democratic organization. I do know, as well as I am morally capable of knowing anything, that they had no agency in the matter. The rebellion proceeded from causes beyond the control of any of these forces. When Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina, in his letter to Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana, stated that "no man in the South, who deserved the name of statesman, would pretend that secession was caused by any aggression of the North, or of the Union government, upon the rights of the South," he stated that which was exactly true. Mr. Spratt was a secessionist *per se*. He was a disciple and follower of John C. Calhoun; an advocate of government through a privileged class; a disbeliever in democracy; and was an out-spoken despiser of the false pretences under which the more hypocritical secessionists masked their ulterior motives. He stated the case truly when he set down secession to the account of the unavoidable collision that must arise in the future between free labor and involuntary servitude.

ARMING THE COLORED MAN UNDER PROMISE OF EMANCIPATION—A MEASURE URGED BY SOUTHERN UNIONISTS.

I must bring to your minds another matter relating to the management of the incidents of the war. It is one about which more has been said and less understood by the masses opposing the Administration than any other. I allude to the measure of arming the negro, converting him into a being of power through military discipline, and of making him the ally of the nationality under the declaration and promise of emancipation. I must state to you now, what perhaps you have not before learned. This was a Southern measure. It was brought forward by Southern Unionists. Allow me to

cite a paragraph from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the Richmond organ and advocate of human bondage. From this you will begin to see and appreciate the reasons more clearly, why the measure was brought forward and advocated by Southern Unionists. You will not wonder at their pertinacity, when you learn more fully the reasons:—

"THE BENIGN INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY WHICH IT IS NOW THE PRIDE AND GLORY OF THE SOUTH TO ASCRIBE TO THE CONCEPTION OF DIVINITY, and which this war has proven to be, next to the devoted patriotism and undaunted resolution of her sons, the greatest element of power in the Confederacy, will prove, in preventing too heavy an influx from foreign shores of that class of population devoted to menial pursuits, another bulwark against the encroachments of those tendencies to democracy which have been the Pandora's box of disintegration and ruin to all republics."

Mark well these emphatic words—"The greatest element of power in the Confederacy!" This power was as well known and estimated by the Unionists of the South as by the secessionists. They had heard the boasts of rebeldom that they had a provision-producing and entrenching force, that, by management, could be made equal to four millions of whites. They heard the declaration made that this entrenching force could and would be commanded at will, and that the country would be fortified from the Potomac to the Gulf. It was assumed by military men that one man behind intrenchments was the equal of three men on the outside. The Southern Unionists knew but too well that, under the relentless military despotism, almost every man, white and black, could be conscripted for some purpose into the rebel service; thus making the South to stand as a compact force of nearly ten millions, with all the military advantages of defensive preparation. They knew another fact also—that the rebel horde embarked with no other intention but that of final separation; that there was no middle ground of compromise; and that it was designed from the beginning to be a life and death struggle to the last degree of endurance on the part of the conspirators.

Do you wish to inquire further why it was that the Southern Unionists urged upon the government the policy of striking the rebellion at its vulnerable point? You have your answer in the details of rebel atrocities, in comparison with which no people, claiming to be civilized, affords a parallel. A conspiracy against the nationality—a conspiracy against the principles of free government—a conspiracy against the political rights of free labor in the South—a rebellion against the laws of population—thousands upon thousands of union men murdered for no crime but attachment to the government of their Fathers; and all this because slaveholders believed that the future progeny of free labor would object to the continuance of slavery!

I must bring your minds to another phase of this question of arming the negro. The rebel government had already commenced it. You remember the historic fact that Gen. Butler captured an order of a Confederate General directing the raising of three negro regiments in Louisiana. Gen. Butler made an artful dodge

around the hesitating policy at Washington. "It would not be allowable for me to issue such an order as this, but as this order is ready made to our hands we may as well fill it up;" and the three regiments were immediately organized. Davis and the Confederate Congress were debating the question of arming the male adult negroes under the promise of emancipation, not including the female negroes and children. The Southern Unionists said to Mr. Lincoln, "Hedge off this project by the promise of emancipation to the women and children." It was this cord of affection, this tie that bound the negro to his wife and children that strangled Davis's incipient project. However much it might be made to appear that this proclamation was like the "Pope's bull against the comet," Mr. Lincoln was not mistaken in making his promise of emancipation a broad one.

There was another stroke of policy to be made, and necessary to be made, in order to bring the liberalists of Europe into conjunction and sympathy with the North. All the democracy haters of Europe were against us. The liberalists wished to be on our side, but the condition precedent was, that "an affirmative policy against slavery should be declared." The secession emissaries in Europe, in order to neutralize or gain over the liberalists to their side, hypocritically assumed that the North and the Union government were as much in favor of Slavery as the secessionists of the South. They issued and laid before the British Parliament a document from which the following is an extract, to prove it.

EXTRACT.

"It was from no fear that the slave would be liberated that Secession took place. THE VERY PARTY IN POWER HAS PROPOSED TO GUARANTEE SLAVERY FOR EVER IN THE STATES, if the South would but remain in the Union. MR. LINCOLN'S Message proposes no freedom to the slave, but announces subjection of his owner to the will of the Union—in other words, to the will of the North. Even after the battle of Bull Run, both branches of the Congress at Washington passed resolutions that the war is only waged in order to uphold that (pro-slavery) Constitution, and to enforce the laws (MANY OF THEM PRO-SLAVERY), and out of 172 votes in the Lower House, they RECEIVED ALL BUT TWO, and in the Senate, ALL BUT ONE VOTE."

[Signed]

WM. L. YANCEY,
P. A. ROST,
A. DUDLEY MANN,
Southern Commissioners to England.

RESOLUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.

In order to counteract this mischievous influence, THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, an association including Southern Unionists, assumed to address the liberalists of England on the subject of emancipation through a letter addressed to John Bright. This letter was written on the 9th of August, 1862, and gave assurance of the expected proclamation which appeared in January thereafter. The following is an extract from that letter:

"We enclose for your perusal a copy of the declaratory resolutions of our League. Also we send by this mail the July number of the *Continental Monthly*, containing an article more fully elucidating the motives and reasonings that led the slaveholders into the attempt at revolution.

"We are aware that the liberalists of Europe have waited with much impatience for the disclosure of a significant policy on the part of our government towards the institution of slavery. They need not fear on that ground, nor will their just hopes be disappointed. We could have longer tolerated slavery, odious as it is in principle, and damaging as it is to the advancement of civilization, for the sake of peace; but when it openly entered upon the revilement of the democratic principle, insisted on a new order of government, and commenced the war to throw off the national jurisdiction, it became a very different matter. From that moment the chain of subordination to its fell influences was broken. Its prestige has already passed the bounds beyond the pale of restoration. The bill of its abominations is now to be settled through the law of force. What that settlement will be is very plainly foreshadowed in the public sentiment, to the effect that we can neither have peace nor become a homogeneous people without removing this gangrene from the body politic.

"WHEREAS, of the four millions of colored population in Southern States, a large portion has a mixture of the Caucasian blood, and is related by blood to the rebel slaveholders, being their sons and daughters; and in addition to its NATURAL right, has the further claim to freedom through the BLOOD of its male ancestry; this population for a long time has chafed under a brutalized bondage, at the same time it has industriously inculcated the aspiration in the minds of the whole colored population of the South to become free:—and whereas, also, the colored population of the South has long contemplated and calculated its chances of freedom, and has ever expected that it would be called upon to assist in the business of its disenthralment from bondage:—and whereas, it is well known to the rebel slaveholders as well as to every intelligent man in the South, that there are hundreds of thousands of this colored population who would fight for their freedom with as much desperation as rebels would fight to keep them in slavery:—and whereas also, this colored population of the South is employed as the basis of production to sustain the rebels and rebel armies; and through the stupidity of the policy heretofore pursued, thus converted into the most effective enemy of the national cause:

"It is therefore DECLARED and RESOLVED, That humanity, sound policy, and justice, require that the colored population South, should be immediately called upon, through the promise of freedom, to strike the blow for its deliverance."

EMANCIPATION POLICY.

When the policy of the proclamation was severely questioned by its opposers, and much doubt thrown upon the public mind, the friends of the measure were alarmed lest the President should withdraw it. In a conference by a number of Southern Unionists, it was resolved to address Mr. Lincoln a letter. General Hamilton, of Texas, was selected to write it. The arguments contained in that letter have never yet been answered. They never will be refuted until truth and logic shall lose their force.*

Ask the Unionists of the South no further reasons why they urged this measure; but ask the commanders of your armies how many lives have been sacrificed in carrying intrenchments erected by unwilling negro hands. It is a fallacious pretence to urge that rebel obstinacy has been intensified by the emancipation policy. It started with predetermination that was incapable of being increased. In measure and

* See Hamilton's Letter—Appendix.

policy of arming and emancipating the colored man, and making him the ally of the Union, government has severely crippled the rebellion, impaired its strength, and lessened its powers of endurance.

FOLLY AND WICKEDNESS OF SECESSION.

The conspirators of the South, after more than thirty years plotting and preparation, started the open revolt with the determination to achieve a revolution through the law of force. The perpetuity of human bondage was their object. They will have a revolution; but freedom, and not bondage, will be the result. They once had a fugitive slave law—a law that grated harshly on humanized sensibilities. They have now another: not one, however, that delivers back the colored man to stripes and bondage, but returns the able-bodied negro, who comes within our lines, with a cartouch-box by his side, a musket on his shoulder, a piece of steel on the top of said musket, to do duty as a soldier of the Union, and to assist in raising the old flag that rebels had despitely trodden in the dust. Before we are through with this conflict, rebels and their sympathizers will have learned something they never knew before. I have never known a secessionist, *per se*, who had compass of mind and powers of analysis competent to take into account the surroundings of strength and never-ending motives that cluster to the maintenance of free democratic government. John C. Calhoun was the greatest fool of them all; for all fools must be judged by the magnitude of their folly. He spent a life in the concoction of ingenious sophistry. He left his teachings and plottings as a last legacy to his deluded compeers, who have entered upon the intended fulfilment of his atrocious designs. The moral sensibilities of the world have been shocked by the enormity of the crime and the reasons for its attempted perpetration. Ruined hopes, ruined fortunes, devastation, misery, eternal historic disgrace, will have marked the tracks and results of the rebellion. Not the first shade of excuse, not the first glimmer of just palliation, can ever be brought to the historic relief of these infidels to free government. They will go down to posterity with a reputation for political vice that was incurable; a pulpit theology debauched by a supposed Bible doctrine in justification of kidnapping; a philosophy that would overturn the laws of God's moral universe, and make Milton's devil the ruler on this poor planet.

REBEL SYMPATHIZERS MUST HURRY UP IN ORDER TO SAVE THE INSTITUTION.

One word to the followers of the late Chicago Convention, and I will have done with this branch of the subject. You vociferate the expression, "the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was." The meaning of this is, that you would restore the Union; send the colored soldier and his wife and children back into bondage; make reparation to your Southern friends for their slight losses of property; pay the confederate war debt; restore to the conspirators the political rights which they have

forfeited by rebellion; making the traitors of the South the future political South, keeping the non-slaveholders subordinate and disparaged; and lastly, to give "secure guaranties" for the perpetuity of "the Institution." My good friends! I hardly know how all this is to be accomplished; more especially, the last proposition concerning the "secure guaranties." I have endeavored to show you that the revolt was a rebellion against the laws of population—in other words, it was gotten up in order to cut loose from the political power and influence of the vast future free-labor progeny of the country. I know of but one way in which this could be accomplished. If we let things go on in their old course, free-labor men and women begetting and bearing children, I can hardly see how matters could be mended. Some contrivance must be made to turn the laws of population backward in their course. It might, perhaps, be done in this way. Let Belmont call back the Chicago Convention, and amend the platform by adding the following preamble and resolutions, viz.:

PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

Whereas, The benign institution of Slavery, ordained by God, and long enjoyed by our Southern friends and political brethren, had become so endangered by an inadvertent oversight of Providence that threatened said institution with a troublesome preponderance of free-labor population: *And whereas*, also, our Southern friends, greatly alarmed thereat, have been driven into the assertion and maintenance of their sacred rights, and the rights of their grandchildren, against the machinations of the hosts of free-labor children not yet born, have separated from the Union sorely to the annoyance of their Northern friends, leaving us in the hands of the fanatical Unionists: *And whereas*, Abraham Lincoln, the tyrant, taking despotic umbrage at the just and chivalrous doings and conduct of our friends in the South, has threatened to demolish their benign institution, leaving the Southern land a prey to the rapacious free labor already spawned, and to be spawned, over Southern territory: Therefore, for the purpose of giving an effectual guaranty to the benign institution, it is

Resolved, 1. That a patent brake should and ought to be immediately put upon the fly-wheel of generation in the Southern States, so that no more "white trash" should hereafter presume to be born.

Resolved, 2. That the emigration from the Emerald Isle, denominated in De Bow's Review the "*filthy, whiskey-drinking Irish*," though not objectionable as voters just at present, are nevertheless a dangerous element, prospectively, to the benign institution—that we sympathize most deeply with our Southern friends in the belief "*that some effective method should be adopted to check the spread over our territory of that spawn of ignorance and crime, and which would shut out its cankerous effects from the vitals of the Southern body politic*." Further, *Resolved*, That Irish mothers be respectfully requested to bear no more free-labor children hereafter.

Resolved, 3. That the class denominated in De Bow's Review the "licentious, infidel, scoundrel Germans," be respectfully invited not to propagate their species in America hereafter—that, coming here as they generally do with their heads full of that "pestilent and pernicious dogma"—"the greatest good of the greatest number"—it is impolitic to allow them to spread their progeny over our domain—that their wild ideas of "equal rights" are entirely incompatible with the permanency of the "sacred institution."

Resolved, 4. That the class of native born in the North, denominated in De Bow's Review "the slave race"—"descendants of Saxon serfs," should and ought to resolve itself at once into a great Shaking Quaker society—that this class, in its utter disregard of the doctrine of "a balance of power," has gone on from year to year, and decade to decade, breeding a progeny that is totally regardless of boundaries to any North, South, East, or West. Therefore, that the whole arrangement may be speedily made whereby this increase of free labor may be stopped, and our Southern friends thereby reconciled to the Union, we recommend that Professor Morse, Bishop Hopkins, the Cincinnati Enquirer, and Chicago Times, be engaged as public instructors to force the necessity of the measure on the public mind—that said public instructors be requested to act in conjunction with the "society for the diffusion of useful political knowledge," and that the expenses be paid out of the deposit of Confederate Bonds, or the McClellan fund, in the discretion of the chairman of the committee.

Resolved, 5. That this convention have entire confidence that as soon as the proposed steps can be effectually taken, our Southern friends will sheath the sword and return to that political fellowship from which they had become estranged—that then will come the day of jubilee and rejoicing for the glorious democratic party, and peace! peace!!! be inscribed on all its pageantry, and our brave hero, statesman, and philosopher, carried triumphantly to the Presidential chair.

My democratic friends! whatever is done by way of saving the benign institution must be done quickly. The case will not bear delay. Grant is thundering away about the rebel capital. Sherman occupies the Gibraltar of the South. The old sea-dog, Farragut, and Granger, are prowling about Mobile. Sheridan has stove up all the rebel contrivances in the Shenandoah valley. One hundred and eighty thousand troops of Southern extraction, white and colored, are now wearing the United States uniform, and are joined to the Union army. New recruits under the 500,000 call are going on rapidly. Rebel soldiers are deserting in large numbers. Already, the death-rattle is heard in the throat of the rebellion. I admonish you that if you would save slavery you must move soon. Maryland free-soilers are playing the mischief with the institution. So in Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana. All the Unionists of the South are against it. In a little time nothing

will be left but its dead carcase, unless something is done. That vile business of making the colored man into a soldier; learning him to pull trigger; to look at his old master through the sights of a gun barrel; and to pick up a little knowledge on military organization; has made the old master feel shaky about the "perpetuity." If this business is not stopped, it will soon require two overseers to each negro. In case things cannot be made to change soon, the divinity will all be taken out of the institution. What will become of the Constitution when the divinity is all taken out of it? Where would we drift to without slavery to hold us steady? I admonish you again, my democratic friends, to hasten the reassembling of the convention, or, slavery is gone!

My friends! were the gentlemen composing the Chicago convention standing before me in your places, I should be disposed to address them in this wise—

ADDRESS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention: I stand before you as an humble representative of the Unionists of the South. I speak to you in behalf of the larger portion of Southern white population, who never voted themselves out of the Union; whose hearts are still with us; but who cannot talk except in secret places; who cannot write to us their grievances, lest an inadvertent expression in favor of the Union government, even by implication, should cost them their lives. These men are looking to the Union government for relief from their oppressors. In all your proceedings, in all the presses under your control, you have never, to my knowledge, mentioned them. In all your communications since the war commenced you have seemed to treat these Unionists as if they were no part of the social or political South. The oppressors of the South seem to command your attention, and if not your moral, at least your party sympathy.

Gentlemen, you remind me of the quaint anomalies of the English wag. He asserted that "an Englishman was never happy except when he was making himself miserable"—that "a Scotchman was never at home except when he was travelling;" and that "an Irishman was never at peace except when he was fighting." You seem to be more anomalous than all the British Islanders put together. You claim to be democrats, and yet seek to restore the Union by bringing into the political foreground of the South the vilest anti-democratic force with which any country or nation was ever afflicted.

You affect to call President Lincoln an "imbecile!" This may be so, my good democratic friends, but it is just what the old federalists said of our democratic President Madison, some years ago, when we had that little fracas with Great Britain on our hands. You have borrowed the exact phraseology. You assume that this is a "foolish, useless, wicked, and unnecessary war on the part of the Union government." That is just what the Hartford conventionists said of our "democratic war of 1812-15." But you say in reply, "that was a foreign war,

against foreign enemies ; this is a war against our countrymen, our brethren of the South." Perhaps you have more respect for domestic traitors than for foreign enemies. Perhaps you have admired Benedict Arnold quite as much as you have entertained antipathies against Cornwallis. There is no accounting for taste. I assume to tell you, my good friends of the Chicago Convention, that Abraham Lincoln is a pretty strong man, and can prove it to you in a few words. When he went into the White House, he found that you, and our Southern brethren, and that old democratic patriarch, Buchanan, with the household assistance of Floyd, Cobb, Thompson and Toucey, had got the affairs of state into a somewhat rickety condition. To show this, I quote from the Rev. Dr. Sumner's *Secesh Almanac*, containing "a chronological table of remarkable events which transpired in connection with the organization of the Southern Confederacy."

"Dec. 25, 1860.—Sudden evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, U. S. Army. He spikes the guns, burns the gun carriages, and retreats to Fort Sumter, which he occupies.

"Dec. 27.—Capture of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney by the South Carolina troops. Captain Coste surrenders the revenue cutter Aitken.

"Jan. 3, 1861.—Capture of Fort Pulaski by the Savannah troops.

"Jan. 3.—The arsenal at Mt. Vernon, Ala., with 200,000 stand of arms, seized by the Alabama troops.

"Jan. 9.—Fort Morgan, in Mobile Bay, taken by the Alabama troops.

"Jan. 9.—The steamship *Star* of the West fired into and driven off by the South Carolina batteries on Morris Island. Failure of the attempt to reinforce Sumter.

"Jan. 9.—Mississippi seceded ; vote of convention, 84 to 39.

"Jan. 10.—Forts Jackson, St. Philip, and Pike, near New Orleans, captured by the Louisiana troops.

"Jan. 11.—Alabama seceded ; vote of convention, 62 to 29.

"Jan. 11.—Florida seceded ; vote of convention, 62 to 29.

"Jan. 14.—Capture of Pensacola navy-yard, and Forts Barrancas and McRae. Major Chase shortly afterwards takes command, and the siege commences.

"Jan. 18.—Surrender of Baton Rouge arsenal to Louisiana troops.

"Jan. 19.—Georgia seceded ; vote of convention, 207 to 87.

"Jan. 26.—Louisiana seceded ; vote of convention, 113 to 19.

"Jan. 31.—New Orleans mint and custom-house taken.

"Feb. 1.—Texas seceded ; vote of convention, 166 to 7 ; submitted to the vote of the people Feb. 23 ; the act took effect March 2.

"Feb. 2.—Seizure of Little Rock arsenal by Arkansas troops.

"Feb. 4.—Surrender of the revenue cutter *Cass* to the Alabama authorities.

"Feb. 7.—Southern Congress met at Montgomery, Ala.

"Feb. 8.—Provisional Constitution adopted.

"Feb. 9.—Jefferson Davis, of Miss., and Alex. H. Stevens, of Ga., elected President and Vice-President.

"Feb. 17.—Gen. Twiggs transfers public property in Texas to the State authorities. Col. Wait, U.S.A. surrenders Antonia to Col. Ben. McCulloch and his Texan Rangers.

"Feb. 18.—Inauguration of President Davis at Montgomery, Ala.

"Feb. 18.—Peace Congress adjourned at Washington, having accomplished nothing.

March 2.—The revenue cutter *Dodge* seized by the Texas authorities.

"March 4, 1861.—James Buchanan left, his household having been principally broken up a little previous.

"March 4, 1861.—Abraham went into the White House, and found things in a bad fix—everything going in a wrong direction, and kept on going wrong.

"March 5.—Gen. Beauregard assumes command of the troops besieging Fort Sumter.

"March 12.—Fort Brown, Texas, surrendered by Capt. Hill to Texas Commissioners.

"March 13.—Alabama ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 87 to 6.

"March 16.—Georgia ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 96 to 5.

"March 21.—Louisiana ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 101 to 7.

"March 25.—Texas ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 98 to 2.

"March 30.—Mississippi ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 98 to 7.

"April 5.—South Carolina ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States ; vote of convention, 149 to 29.

"April 12, 13.—Battle of Fort Sumter. After 34 hours' bombardment the Fort surrendered to the Confederate States.

"April 14.—Evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson.

"April 14, 1861.—Assumption and general declaration, on the part of the secessionists, that Maryland and all the Slave States belonged to the Southern Confederacy ; that Washington and all the public buildings, being within Southern territory, must be captured and held.

"April 14, 1861, 12 o'clock, M.—Abraham's Kentucky spunk rose to 90 ; at 1 o'clock, P. M., got very angry ; at 2 o'clock, issued Proclamation, calling for 75,000 men to put down the rebellion.

"April 15, 1861.—Telegram received at Montgomery, Ala. ; great laughter excited in the Confederate Congress at the idea of 75,000 men being able to put down the rebellion, with 250,000 *Confederate troops already organized*."

Gentlemen of the convention ! I introduce these facts for the purpose of showing what kind of a start Father Abraham had in the race. I need not mention the hurried organization of Northern military matters, nor any of the incipient disasters of the war. It is enough to know that our people demanded resistance to rebelatrocities ; that they spoke in unmistakable thunder tones ; and that the government *MUST* FIGHT. The conflict was commenced, and has gone on, I need not say how. I now come to the point of showing that Abraham has proved a STRONG MAN. Please, good Democrats (?) to observe the large, desperate Confederate armies in Abraham's front ; led by desperate generals, educated and instructed in military science by the Union government. Armies and generals boastfully confident. These were as much as any ordinary man could well have taken care of. Then look at the flank movements on him : the tory aristocracy of England on one flank, and old Bob Wickliffe and his Kentucky secessionists in disguise on the other. Then, my good friends, look at the great, glorious, and everlasting democratic party pelting him on the back ! Look a little closer and see all the venomous "copperheads" tangling his legs, McClellan's anaconda and all ! What do you think of it ?

True—true, my friends, Abraham has tripped, and staggered, and wobbled slightly under the load; but don't you think, on the whole, he has held up pretty well?

My good friends of the convention! is it possible that, with all your inside advantages, all your intimacy with the secessionists, with all your confidential sympathy with the forces that plotted the conspiracy, you have failed to comprehend, as Abraham has comprehended, the true nature of the conflict? I think this must be the case, or why else should our old brother democrat, Franklin Pierce, have expressed the desire "to fight on the side of his Southern friends"? It is true he wouldn't be much in that way; not very *harmful*, to be sure—not much more so than McClellan has been to the rebels. I am confident that our democratic friends do not understand fully the true issue. When I went down to the great McClellan-Pennington ratification meeting on Union Square the other night, I saw lots of pageantry, quaint and unseemly devices, illuminations, cart-loads of mottoes, and much vociferation and loud acclaim in the preparations for war. I couldn't help observing, though, as a working man remarked, that it was all "agin Abraham and the abolitionists, and nothing agin the rebels." As I went around, eking out the meaning of the inscriptions on the transparencies, I at last made out the new platform under McClellan's letter. It ran thus: "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF NIGGERS!" "Shade of the immortal Jefferson!" thought I, "the days of thy glory are as if they never had been, and the emerald island which was then a speck in the barren ocean, now rivals the inspiration of thy immortal words."

CHOICE OF MEASURES AND INDISCRIMINATE OPPOSITION.

Gentlemen of the convention! there is such a thing as sound discretion, even in opposition to an administration. The party in power is obliged to weigh carefully its measures. In such an emergency as this, it would be very likely to be assisted by the best, the purest, and the most talented intellect of the nation. It stands in a position to know with accuracy what is necessary to be known, and to adopt its measures with reference to the force of circumstances and events that makes them necessary. We may well conclude that under such circumstances the measures will, in nearly every case, be the result of wisdom and foresight. On the other hand, if the party out of power shall be so contumacious as to go into indiscriminate opposition, indulging in foolish extravagances, it will be very likely to be wrong in nine cases out of ten. You have already indulged in contumacious abuse, indiscriminate and foolish, and which has too often taken the airs and attitude of partiality to the rebels and hostility to the great mass of your countrymen in the North. The contumacy of your leadership has culminated in the Chicago platform. You are fully aware that you have alarmed the people—they are afraid to intrust you with power. You were quick to discover it, and have changed, or made a surface change of, the programme. You quickly became aware that you could not hold

the discriminating and conscientious men on that platform. My belief is, that you represented yourselves, and a minor portion only of the party whom you assumed to represent. You now discover that Gen. McClellan can have little strength unless he assumes—and the belief is gotten up in his behalf—that he is a *vigorous war democrat*. As for you, gentlemen of the convention, you deliberately adopted your own views—precisely such views as you have for more than two years persistently urged before the people. What now? Do you intend to go in and elect McClellan, and then say—he was the party candidate, nominated at a regular convention, on a platform deliberately made by the representatives of the party, and that he must obey the convention that made him the candidate? Or, on the other hand, will you acknowledge that you misunderstood the party, affronted the people, and shocked the patriotism of the country by a most erroneous and ill-timed declaration of principles and policy? Gentlemen, it seems to me that you are in an awkward plight. It seems to me also that there is but one way in escaping from it, and that is, to fight the rebels who are endeavoring to overthrow the nationality, and not Mr. Lincoln and the great Union party who are endeavoring to sustain the integrity of the Union.

THE NORTHERN DEMOCRACY TO BE USED AS TOOLS.

Mr. President! allow me to bring to the attention of the Convention what the great leader of secession said some years before his death. Mr. Calhoun spoke these words deliberately, and they now have a significance which was not attached to them at the time they were spoken:

"That we are essentially aristocratic, I cannot deny, but we can and do yield much to Democracy. This is our sectional policy; we are from necessity thrown upon and solemnly wedded to that party, however it may occasionally clash with our feelings, for the consummation of our interests. It is through our affiliation with that party in the Middle and Western States that we hold power, *but when we cease thus to control the nation, through a disjointed Democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union.*"

Let me request you, Mr. President, to take this prophetic declaration with what the traitors said, when plied by certain men, *now sitting in your Convention*, on the question of coming back into the Union. You remember the answer. "Our separation is final"—"we have no further connection with the North or the Union Government." "It is possible," said they, "after our independence is recognized, that we may consent to hold negotiations for commercial intercourse—*holding our noses meanwhile.*" Gentlemen of the Convention! I ask you seriously—do you think your attitude is to be admired?—to be used by your aristocratic masters as a convenience to subserve their purposes; to be despised for your subserviency; to be tolerated as tools, and repudiated when you could no longer be used as instruments in the hypocritical deception under which the conspirators masked their designs? In running about laying plans to appease these rebels who are fighting the loyalty of the country with desper-

ation; humiliating yourselves in disgusting sycophancy, whilst the genuine democracy of the country are breaking their heads, you make yourselves look disgusting. You are really presenting the analogous attitude of an old "cast-off mistress," piteously whining after her brutalized debauched paramour. It seems to me you are sinking below any definition of democracy that we find in the books. The world will hardly know by what name to call you.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION PERSONALLY.

Mr. President! I have a few words to say to you personally. Two years ago you were put in nomination for governor of New York. Your utterances and conduct theretofore, connected with the questions of the war, had not been satisfactory to the public. You were distrusted, and were losing ground. Yourself and friends were alarmed. A meeting was called in Brooklyn by concerted arrangement, and you addressed that meeting upon a war platform. You plainly announced yourself in favor of a "more vigorous prosecution of the war." You were elected under the assurances of your friends that you were sincere and hearty in your declarations. It was expected that you would use your great personal and political influence in stimulating your party to lay aside its contumacy, to rival the most earnest in supporting the national government, and to gain the greatest credit for striking the heaviest blows upon the rebellion. I will now ask you the question, Had you pursued such a course, have you any doubt that the great bulk of your party would have followed you with alacrity; and, that you would have commanded the common approval of the people of this State? Had you taken such course, do you believe the riots and bloody murders of July, 1863, would have happened in New York, when more than two millions of property were destroyed, and a thousand lives lost in quelling them? Imagine again—on whose head is the blood of those poor deluded wretches who had been goaded on to resist the public authorities? Again—have you ever contemplated the effect of the withdrawal of the 24,000 men from the army of the Potomac to save the city from threatened destruction? Do you remember the heavy reinforcement of Bragg, by Lee, in consequence of such withdrawal? Do you bear in mind the disaster to the brave army of the Cumberland at Chickamauga consequent upon such reinforcement of Bragg? It has always seemed to me that here were *causes* and *sequences* that could not be pleasant for you to contemplate.

I would like to know why it is that you are continually prating about state rights, as querulously as ever South Carolina did. It is about as much in keeping with the real exigencies of the day as a hurdy-gurdy grinder with his monkey would be at a funeral. South Carolina and Virginia had about the same number and quantity of state rights that New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, had; but they did not use them in the same way. These latter states constructed internal improvements, educated the children, and went intelligently to work in

making the social, material, and intellectual condition of the people better. The chivalry allowed their educational and economic interests to suffer by neglect. They permitted them to run down "like the heel of an old shoe." They merely used their doctrine of state rights as a grindstone to sharpen the sword to cut loose from the Union. They at last got Lord Derby, others of the tory aristocracy, and the London Times, hold of the crank; but their Lordships soon gave out. It proved a troublesome, terribly irksome business. It did not work well practically. All this hypocritical querulousness about state rights has benefited the South about as much as the July riots benefited New York and the reputation of its governor. Mr. President! there are some state rights that are shown in the avowed objects of this rebellion to be of great importance to the common people—at least common people think so. The leading traitors and their presses say that "*republican government is a failure*"—that it "*is the mistake of civilization of the age*," and that "*the real civilization of a country is in its aristocracy*." This may be so, but the common people of this country won't believe a word of it. They are doggedly, persistently, "*puritanically*" if you please, in favor of popular government. More especially is this the case with the masses of free labor in the South since their late experiences. Now these common people, Mr. President, are the fixed adherents of democracy; and as you are a gentleman of "a popular turn," when you get to talking about the "Constitution" and "state rights," they would be pleased to have you mention that little clause which interdicts "*the establishment of any order of nobility*;"—also that other little clause which guarantees "*republican government to the people of all the states*." These are small matters—trifles to be sure, but then, you know they are *something* to common and poor people, who cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of aristocratic government. Old Tom Jefferson has put notions in their heads, and we can't get them out.

THE BRUTALIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Gentlemen of the Convention: I wish I could awaken you to a realizing sense of the process, that has been going on under your auspices, in brutalizing public opinion. It has had its political development more particularly with our Irish population. You remember the attempt of a parcel of brutes two years ago to murder some innocent harmless colored people in a tobacco factory in Brooklyn. You remember the murders committed on colored people in the streets of New York, in July '63—the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum, and the wild hurrahs! of "Down with the niggers!" "Down with the abolitionists!" "Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!" "Hurrah for McClellan!" "Hurrah for Seymour!" Here was an association of ideas. In the Chicago convention you have used more classic language, but will you explain to the world how much you have improved upon this very association of ideas? It has always seemed to me as if the poor debauched brutes that made the practical illustration in New York and Brooklyn were not the most responsible men. I have

always pitied them myself, and reserved my execrations for the more gentlemanly ruffians that debauched them. They were only the low down part of the sewer that had been fed by the political "soil pipes" of higher life. I wish I could burn into your minds the indignant words of Daniel O'Connell, wherein he so plaintively mourns over the brutalization of the Irish in America. Read the letter of this great man, written to the Irish repeal association of Cincinnati. Daniel O'Connell was the idolized friend of all true Irishmen. He never gave his countrymen advice in the wrong direction. The calamities of our country now make his words of wisdom and admonition of manifold importance. In the language and sentiments of this great man, the Chicago Convention may find, by implication, its sternest rebuke.

Gentlemen of the Convention! Are you aware that the only bond which you present to the world, as the bond that now binds your organization together, is slavery? Take this away, and what other cohesive power have you left? You profess to be Jeffersonian Democrats. Why do you not follow him in his reasonings upon, and denunciations of, this most accursed system of human bondage? In contemplation of this system, the great philosopher "trembled for his country when he reflected upon the idea that there was a just God." What are our present calamities but the fulfillment of his prophecies? In your avowed sympathy in the preservation of this institution, you have made the world believe that you are a pro-slavery party. If you mean to be thus understood, why not boldly take up the Southern political axiom that "slavery and democracy are incompatible?" Why go about pretending to be "democrats," at the same time seeking to uphold this acknowledged "antagonism of democracy?"

COVENANTS WITH REBELS.

Gentlemen of the Convention! some of you made a bargain with the secessionists in 1860. All the covenants you assumed to enter into have become historic. They are as well known as any other historic facts. "The states of the South were to secede"—you promised them "peaceable secession"—they agreed that "the Union should be restored, provided you would give new and secure guarantees to slavery." You promised to do it. Now for the fulfillment:—The secessionists knew you could give no guarantees to slavery as against the vast free-labor force which neither you nor they could bind. They understood this well. They intended to get peaceable secession with your assistance, and then cheat you. After the accomplishment of the fact, they intended to say to you—"What guarantee can you give slavery as against the laws of population?" Your answer, if it had been candid and intelligent, would have been—"None!" You could not keep the covenant, and they knew it. On the other hand, atrocity after atrocity exasperated by degrees the indignation of the North. The bombardment of Fort Sumter intensified it beyond control. You found that you had assumed to bind the democratic party to a traitorous

covenant without having a warrant of attorney. The secessionists have a thousand and one times upbraided you for it and flung it in your faces. You and the secessionists were two cheats. You intended to cheat and impose upon the great democratic masses of your countrymen. You have only distressed your country and cheated yourselves. All of you have got into a bad scrape. You and they have gone too far to retrace the step. You can no more have things as they were than you could make an old broken church bell ring as it once did. Gentlemen, we have got to cast it over. You need not try to mince the matter, or to haggle about it or tinker it up; for let me assure you that all the political tinkers in your convention cannot make that old cracked bell ring again until it is cast over: and if it be not amiss, I would humbly suggest that the metal may as well be slightly purified. Gentlemen of the convention, I thank you for the indulgence with which you have listened to my remarks.

THE CANDIDATES.

And now, fellow-citizens, I must draw my remarks to a close. I have a word to say respecting the candidates for the Presidency. With regard to George B. McClellan, I shall neither attempt to adulate or execrate him. He was placed in high command by a most generous confidence, and decorated with laurels said to have belonged to Gen. Rosecrans' wreath. Every patriot in the country heartily wished him success. I leave it for you to judge whether he fulfilled the public expectations; or whether, on the other hand, the public confidence was not gradually shaken until the public sentiment demanded his removal. As a political man I must be permitted to characterize him by the surroundings with which he has affiliated. Whether he has been affiliating with questionable influences, contumacious, unpatriotically cavilling out of season, or what not—I take him in connection with all the influences by which he has been surrounded. I believe him much better than some of those influences, and not as good as others. I believe it would be a fair estimate of Gen. McClellan to measure him by the conduct and rationality of the party that supports him. Take an average of that conduct for the last two years, and apply it to Gen. McClellan's susceptibilities and inclinations, and I think we have his true status—mentally, morally, and politically. I leave him there.

A few words with regard to the Union candidate. Mr. Lincoln shows that he has not failed to comprehend the true nature of the conflict. He knows that it is a terrible struggle between the opposing principles of government—a battle between aristocracy and democracy; waged, and to be waged, with all the intensity that the most unscrupulous and mercenary class that ever existed can possibly bring to bear. In such a contest as this, in connection with Mr. Lincoln's views of its nature, it is morally impossible that he should be on the wrong side of the question. In the selection of his generals, he has been obliged to resort to the carpenter's "scribe rule," to use a homely expression, and

to "cut and try." He has succeeded, after many trials and much exhibition of different grades of capacity, in selecting those who have fought their way into reputation. Our generals and naval commanders now command the confidence of the nation, as well as the admiration of their countrymen. We are now doubly assured that the Union is to be restored and peace established in the only possible way; and that way is, to take all the conceit out of the rebels, and further, to teach them that we, THE PEOPLE, have rights which must not be conspired against, and powers which must be respected.

KEEP IN MIND THE TRUE ISSUE.

One word more and I have done. Keep in mind the true issue. Urge this issue, which we are fighting with the traitors, upon the attention of your neighbors. On this issue the strength of the nation will come and stand by us and with us, regardless of the frivolous and deceptive issues which the Chicago tinkers would raise as to the method of mending their old brass kettle. My friends, I thank you for your patience, and bid you good night.

APPENDIX.

The following extracts from the letter of Gen. Hamilton to the President, are referred to in the foregoing speech :

"In this connection it is well to remember that this *anti-slavery sentiment* is the fixed condition of the public mind of the civilized world. And to this sentiment, more than to all other causes, do we owe the fact that *non-intervention* by foreign governments in the great struggle now pending here, has so far been maintained.

"At the period when the governing classes of some of the governments of the Old World, sympathizing with the aristocratic principle of slavery, and deeply interested in the preservation of the privileges of class, were just ready to proclaim intervention in American affairs, the proclamation of freedom to the slaves, issued by you as President of the United States and in solemn form, and the concurrent assertion of the rebels in the South, of their determination to maintain slavery as the corner stone of their new government, so awakened that deep sentiment of hostility to slavery in the masses of the people of those governments, and so attracted their active sympathies to this government, as to effectually forestall intervention.

"And to this sentiment, thus aroused and stimulated by your grand proclamation, and now outspoken in England, do we owe it to-day to be thankful that we see the emancipation party holding—and holding *firmly*, under the able guidance of John Bright—the balance of power in that government.

"In France, too, even imperial power has not, so far, openly opposed the national sympathy on the side of freedom. If we are destined to encounter foreign enemies in this struggle, it will be most likely when, by a vacillating policy in support of the proclamation, or its abandonment, we have forfeited the confidence, the respect, and moral aid of the friends of freedom throughout the world. With the sympathies of Christendom with us, intervention is but a possibility—against us, it is a certainty.

"The effect which a disavowal and retraction of the proclamation would have upon the public mind of other nations is evident. It would at once paralyze the efforts of those who have hitherto stayed the action of their governments in proposed interference in our affairs.

"It would weaken, if not destroy, the liberal party of France and England—it would surely convert them from friends to enemies of this government, and thus break down the most powerful barrier to intervention and foreign war. Thus, self-interest and national safety should alone suffice to prevent such madness.

"But there is an argument higher than these which appeals directly to every Christian heart—an argument used by yourself in the terms of the proclamation.

"*'Upon this act—sincerely believed'* (so runs the instrument) *'to be act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'*

"Thus did the chief of a Christian people, before mankind, and in the sight of God, proclaim freedom to the slave, and by his official signature to the great act commit himself to its wisdom, its justice, and its constitutionality, and to the efficiency of its provisions.

"That act was in pursuance of an act of Congress authorizing it. The power in the Congress to declare war carries with it the power to provide the means and prescribe the necessary measures to make the war effective." It was in the exercise of this power that Congress acted. The war-making power, which is also the law-making power of the government, said to the President, the commander-in-chief of its armies, 'Do this thing,' and it was done. It is unprofitable to attempt to prove to those who are unwilling to believe, that the act was constitutional. The majority of the people of the United States and of the civilized world so believe it and so sanction it.

"While the civilized world has hailed the act with joy, it would shudder at an effort to recall it or impair its vital force. The policy of such a course would be as fatal to the peace and welfare of the country as the act would be atrocious in principle. Those who propose it surely cannot yet comprehend the real design of the rebellion, and the change which it has produced in the relations of the different classes in the South. A restoration of 'the Union as it was,' to use a cant phrase of the day, is not a possible thing. If it means a restoration with slavery, then it will not be a Union of peace, prosperity, and happiness, but a Union of discord, hatred, and violence in the South, which will sink it in barbarism. Can we hope for peace between the sections now at war, with slavery still existing? But if this were possible, how can it be expected that the rebels and loyal men of the South can live in peace in the future, the cause of the trouble—*slavery*—still in existence, the rebel masters more intolerant, jealous, and brutal than ever before, with arrogance increased by the victory which they will have achieved over the people and government of the United States and the moral and political opinions of the civilized world? I know well that there are those who are impatient when 'loyal men South' are mentioned in the consideration of these questions. Nevertheless, I insist most respectfully, but earnestly, that they are worthy of consideration, because of their devotion to liberty and their government, because of their sacrifices and sufferings, and because they constitute the only future strength of the government in the South. They are to-day the *majority* of the South, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary. Their vindication is certain, if slow. Time will prove that the great body of the citizens of the South will gratefully return to the Union of their fathers, while it will more fully develop the undying hatred to free government of less than 300,000 slaveholders.

"We need not further shut our eyes to the nature and disposition of the antagonistic forces now in conflict in this war. Men need not wonder at the convulsion resulting from the conspiracy, created solely by the pro-slavery spirit that plotted the rebellion. This conspiracy is now known to have embraced various objects in its scope. The determination to hold in bondage four millions of colored people with their increase, and to make such bondage perpetual, was the main object of the conspiracy. This determination formed the basis of all other measures, whether of intrigue, war, or diplomacy. It entered into every plan and calculation of the rebel leaders. The attempt to destroy the national unity grew out of the conspiracy against the colored man, and became necessary to accomplish the scheme of his perpetual bondage. There was an obstacle in the way. There were seven millions of non-slaveholders in the South. How could it be otherwise than that this population should, at no distant day, stand upon its rights and dictate that policy which should accord with its interests? It was the apprehension of this that led to the conspiracy against the political rights of these masses. It was a truth fully realized by the leading conspirators that slavery could not long exist against a union of the free-labor forces North and South, blended by common sympathy; therefore the national unity must be destroyed. They said, 'Slavery and democracy are incompatible,' and this involved the necessity of a monopoly of political power by the slaveholders, in order to maintain in perpetuity their political property in slaves. These are the motives which led them to attempt the destruction of the government.

"What has the nation now to say to this active intrigue to postpone the destruction of slavery, which is the antagonist of free government? Can it be possible that any man of sense, or judgment, desires such postponement? I ask you to contemplate the fruits of that narrow policy which has disfranchised a large portion of the white population South. I ask our countrymen to consider that educational neglect and political debauchment of the South, which have changed it from an element of national strength into an agency for the attempted accomplishment of national ruin. Compare the condition of the Southern white masses in their industrial interests with that of other sections. Let the political economist tell us what it is that gives the annual *per capita* production of \$166 to every man, woman, and child, in Massachusetts, whilst in South Carolina productive labor yields a *per capita* of \$56 only. He will see this disparity to the direct influence of slavery. The political philosopher may carry the inquiry farther, and show why it is that so much of the population of the North has become a questionable element of national strength. He will find the reason for it in a long-continued sympathy with slavery. The encouragement of the slave system of the South by the North has progressed until it has so far contaminated not only Southern but even Northern society, as to seriously imperil the security of the nation.

"It might have been supposed that the teachings of events would have set us right ere this. It seems, however, that the calamities of the country have had no power to instruct the political intriguers. Upon such, the active treason of the South, its attempt to destroy the nationality, the plot to overthrow free government, the claims of the masses of the South for protection, and all consideration of future security, are as nothing compared with the preservation of slavery—their only principle is *slavery conservatism*. The time has come for conservatism in the right direction. I think we have had enough of *slavery conservatism*. If we must still be conservatives, let us be conservatives of freedom; encouragers of humanity; promoters of such policy as makes men patriots, and keeps them so; and radical opposers

of whatever tends to destroy republican government.

"Every man in the country who still clings to the hope of a great nationality under the old ensign, desires the unity of our people. Upon what basis is this unity to be brought about? Slavery has pronounced democracy to be its opponent. Will unity be brought about by upholding slavery? It has aimed at the destruction of the national life. Will the national life be prolonged and secured by cherishing its antagonist? Slavery has conspired against the political rights of the non-slaveholding masses of the South. Is this in accordance with that just conservatism embraced in that clause of the Constitution which guarantees republican government to the people of all the States? It has unscrupulously aimed at the establishment of an order of nobility in the South, and endeavors to make its escape from under the Constitution which interdicts it. Will the further toleration of an institution which has attempted all this produce unity? Through the intrigues prompted by the pro-slavery spirit, the nation has been precipitated into civil war. The whole number of slaveholders has been more than equalled by the white men who have fallen in the conflict. What kind of a monument does slavery conservatism propose to erect to the memory of those thus sacrificed? Slavery will leave a war debt of gigantic magnitude for free industry to pay. In what way will conservatism reconcile the toil of the nation to the cause of its manifold calamities? Not, I apprehend, by pandering to slavery, and making it the basis of future intrigue and revolution.

"The nation has had enough of *slavery conservatism*. It now demands not only a change, but a *radical* change. The future security of the nation depends upon the policy which shall be now adopted. Its strength results from civil liberty and free government—its only weakness has been the institution of slavery, which thwarted the development of those ideas. The great South, embracing more than eleven millions of human beings, all under proper guidance, an effective element of national strength, has one enemy only—that is *Slavery Conservatism*. The twenty millions of people in the North have had one insidious, mercenary and atrocious enemy—*Slavery Conservatism*! The nation at large has had one enemy—*Slavery Conservatism*! The example in our country is only a repetition of what has been witnessed in all others. The process in freeing nations of the barbarisms of slavery has generally been slow, owing to the weakness of the anti-slavery forces. We have one advantage. The twenty millions of people devoted to free labor have it now in their power to make short work of American slavery. We shall soon know whether conservatism will make chronic the national disease, or whether a rapid and radical cure shall be effected. In the convalescence of this nation the open traitors may not prove to be its worst enemies.

"There are 300,000 colored men in the South, loyal by both nature and circumstance, the enemies of those who would overthrow the nationality, and capable of being made allies in the common cause of freedom, justice and humanity. This force is not to be despised, for it is a force that can be counted on in any emergency that may call it into requisition. It has one simple platform in the ideal of its future—the desire to be free, and fidelity to the power that makes it free. It is this simple platform that may make the colored man an immense power on the side of nationality. It is worth more to the nation to-day, if properly treated, than all the slaveholders, coupled with all those who are now mouthing that abused word 'conservatism.' Conservatism for a long time repulsed the colored man, and made him the efficient ally of the rebels. Alarm for the cause of nationality changed the policy, and commenced making the colored man the ally of freedom."

GEN. MEAGHER ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF IRISHMEN IN AMERICA.

No Irish-born man in America has been more eulogized by his countrymen for his devotion to the rights and honor of Ireland and Irishmen than General THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER; and no man, not even the great DANIEL O'CONNELL, has more bitterly regretted and denounced the course of those Irishmen who, in this free land, prostitute the honored name of "Democracy," by pandering to the slaveholding aristocrats, who (like the British tory nobility) always treat the *Irishman with abuse and scorn*, excepting only WHEN THEY WANT TO GET HIS VOTE!

Hear what the gallant MEAGHER says about that class of Irish-Americans who are gulled by the "Democratic" name into the service of the American-born traitors and British aristocrats, that are prostituting the "Democratic" name in doing the dirty work of the vindictive British tories and the rebellious slave-breeding aristocrats—enemies who are trying to destroy the American Union, under whose protection so many millions of Irishmen and their descendants are enjoying the freedom and prosperity which British tyranny denied them in their native land.

The *Boston Courier*, having made a scurrilous personal attack upon Colonel Guiney, of the Ninth Massachusetts regiment, the Colonel replies through the columns of the *Boston Journal*, and produces letters addressed to himself by General Meagher and others. Colonel Guiney says:

"This assault upon me is made because I have seen fit and deemed it my duty to express freely my opinions of democracy and its candidate. It might be thought an omission, too, if I should fail to say that Fitz John Porter threatened me with court-martial, for a very mild criticism on General McClellan, in his tent at Harrison's Landing, showing me at the same time a copy of the *Boston Herald* containing my remarks."

The letter from General Meagher, written a year ago, is as follows:

"NEW YORK, 129 FIFTH AVENUE, October 7, 1863.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: Your hearty, honest letter, from Culpepper, dated the first of this month, gratified me exceedingly.

"The approval of intelligent and accomplished young Irishmen I have always esteemed, and I think I may include you in that category without being accused of an indulgence in flattery.

"As for the great bulk of Irishmen in this country, I frankly confess to an utter disregard, if not to a thorough contempt of what they think or say of me in my relations to the questions and movements that are supposed or designed to affect the fortunes of this nation, or actually do so.

"To their own discredit and degradation, they have suffered themselves to be bamboozled into being obstinate herds in the political field, contracting inveterate instincts, following with gross stupidity and the stoniest blindness certain worn-out old pathways described for them by their drivers, but never doing anything worthy of the intellectual and chivalrous reputation of their race. 'Democrats' they profess themselves to be from the start—the instant the baggage-smashers and cut-throat lodging-house keepers lay hands on them—and 'democrats' they remain until the day of their death, miserably and repulsively regardless of the conflicting meanings that name acquires through the progressive workings of the great world about them.

"To have been a *democrat* in the days of Andrew Jackson was to have been an *American citizen in the boldest and proudest interpretation of the word*. It was to have been the devoted friend of the country, whether it was right or wrong, and to the extent of being a fierce and relentless enemy of all who were not for it in the fullest measure of its growth and glory.

"Now-a-days, to be a 'democrat' is to be the partisan of a selfish and conscienceless faction, which, under the captivating pretexts of state rights, *habeas corpus*, and other popular claims and 'rights' of the kind, would cripple the national power, play with the wildest or wickedest recklessness into the hands of every foe who would see that power laid low, either to gratify his jealousy or vengeance, or better his mean condition on the wreck furnished him by its overthrow.

"Sadly, and almost savagely, have I noted this of late; and hence the energy (if I can claim that quality for my public action) with which I have broken loose from what might have been considered my imprescriptible associations and traditions in public life.

"In doing so, I have discarded with the haughtiest insensibility and disdain the 'Irish opinion' of this country, having come to the conclusion that it was past redemption, and therefore, past consideration or respect. That such an 'opinion' should be a state of the most violent fermentation against me, in consequence of my letter to the Union committee of Ohio, was to be expected; and that, with the estimate I had formed of it, this circumstance would affect me in the least, could not be reasonably conjectured.

"All this I am led to write because you may have seen in some of the 'organs' of that 'opinion,' strictures on the letter in question; and I am desirous of marking my appreciation of your approval, and that of your officers and men, by giving my notion, very distinctly and emphatically, of the condemnation of others, and the inveterate and irredeemable element from which it emanates.

"I shall reserve myself, however, on this subject, until I see you in camp, promising myself the very great pleasure, as I do, of paying my friends in the Army of the Potomac a visit between this and Christmas.

"I beg you to remember me most cordially to the officers of the gallant and glorious old Ninth Massachusetts. And with sincere esteem, I remain, most cordially yours,

"THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER."

"Col. GUINEY, Ninth Massachusetts Volunteers, Army of the Potomac."

THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY AND THE IRISH-AMERICAN VOTERS.

Though utterly averse to recognizing any political distinction between *American citizens*, whether of *native* or *foreign* birth, we cannot do otherwise than recognize the justice of such appeals as were made by the illustrious O'Connell to his countrymen in the United States, nor can we fail to see the peculiar predicament in which Irish-American voters would place themselves by taking sides with a party in America that is *so hostile to free government* that it commands the support of the *British Tories*—the steady persecutors of Ireland and the Irish.

The New York Evening Post, long distinguished as a true democratic journal, and for its sympathy with the cause of Irish freedom and with Irishmen in America, has some good suggestions on these topics, in the following

HINTS FOR IRISH VOTERS:

"Such of our fellow-citizens of Irish birth as intend to vote for McClellan and Pendleton, may be congratulated upon the pleasure they will give to the English aristocracy, and its organ the London Times. In voting for McClellan they vote exactly as the London Times desires them to. That journal, in its recent issues, heaps abuse upon Mr. Lincoln and the Union party, and vigorously advocates the election of McClellan. So does the London Herald, the organ of the Tory party.

"All who hate the Union, in England, and all who despise and speak contemptuously of the Irish, strongly urge and desire the election of McClellan and Pendleton. A vote for McClellan, therefore, is a vote which will delight the Union-hating and Ireland-hating aristocrats in England; and any Irishman who desires to curry favor with English lords, and with the London Times, cannot do better than vote and speak in favor of McClellan. That will be a sure passport for him to British favor. It will not, perhaps, keep the London Times, the Saturday Review, and other aristocratic journals, from calling the Irish all kinds of names, and classing them, as they constantly do, with beasts and savages; but it may lead those newspapers to make an exception in favor of those who voted for McClellan.

"When, therefore, an Irish citizen is asked why he votes for McClellan, he can answer truly, 'Because the London Times wants to have McClellan elected;' and if he is asked for still further reasons, he can reply, 'Because the English aristocracy are in McClellan's favor;' and if he is still pressed for reasons, he may add, 'Because I should like to win a word of praise for myself from the men who despise the country of my birth, and hate and abuse my people.'"

THE IRISH IN THE NORTH.

The extracts from the Rebel Journals, show the most extraordinary abuse of the Irish, connected at the same time with the liveliest hope that their former devotion to the Democratic Party will induce them now to vote the Copperhead Chicago ticket, which promises "amnesty and peace" to the Rebels and traitors who thus infamously abuse them.

Generals Meagher, Shields, Corcoran, Mulligan, and other heroic Irishmen, among the thousands of that class who risked death, and captivity worse than death, in defence of their adopted country, have shown examples which should not be lost upon their well-meaning countrymen who are enjoying the rights and privileges for which those gallant soldiers fearlessly breasted the horrors of this Slaveholders' Rebellion.

Imagine Sheridan after his late glorious victories over the Rebel forces, addressing his army beyond Winchester: "Boys, I am requested by the Chicago Democratic Convention to say to you that, after your 'four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war,' the 'sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to you.'" "Beyond Winchester" would be a mighty unsafe place for the Chicago Convention about that time. Sheridan is worthy of his Irish ancestry.

A smile of serene content passed over the face of a Peace man at Zanesville, when he heard Ben Wade say historically: "After a year and a half of battles, McClellan, and all his staff, and all their horses, came out as sleek, as fat and fair as they went in. Not one had blood drawn on him. And he was the young Napoleon!"

The Peace offered to us at Chicago is nothing but Disunion, and can be nothing but Disunion. The Peace Grant will give us in Richmond is Union now and forever.

Never forget that the Rebels broke out of the Union to save Slavery, and commenced the war to crush Republicanism.

The only effective Peace Commissioners—Grant, Sherman, Farragut and Sheridan.

DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

THE honors now being rendered to O'Connell, by the erection of statues in his native land, as well as the horrors which the Slaveholders' Rebellion have brought upon our country, may well refresh our memories of the great and good qualities of the Irish "Liberator." Nothing in his whole course was more remarkable—not even his devotion to his church and his country—than his utter detestation of the horrors of American slavery. Yet even his indignation at the slave system was not more vehement than his denunciation of such Irishmen as became the apologists of slavery in the land to which they fled for the freedom and prosperity denied by British tyranny in their native country.

Those who remember his language on these subjects may well imagine the superadded scorn with which he would denounce any Irish-American citizen who could now advocate submission to the slaveholding traitors and a destruction of our National Government. It will be remembered that O'Connell and his associate Repealers refused to receive contributions from American *slaveholders*; and, when a Cincinnati committee of white-faced men sent him a contribution, accompanied by a vindication of slavery and slaveholders, he spurned the money, and denounced the truckling sycophancy to the "accursed system." Addressing the Irish Repeal Association of Cincinnati, he said at the commencement:

"We have read, with the deepest affliction, not unmixed with some surprise and much indignation, your detailed and anxious vindication of the most hideous crime that has ever stained humanity—the slavery of men of color in the United States of America. We are lost in utter amazement at the perversion of mind and depravity of heart which your address evinces. How *can* the generous, the charitable, the humane, the noble emotions of the Irish heart, have become extinct amongst you?"

And at the end of one of the most powerful appeals that ever flowed from his pen, in which he presented every consideration of religion, humanity, and sound policy, which should have weight with those he addressed, O'Connell said:

"We conclude by conjuring you, and all other Irishmen in America, in the name of your fatherland—in the name of humanity—in the name of the God of Mercy and Charity; we conjure you, Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen, to abandon for ever all defence of the hideous negro slavery system. Let it no more be said that your feelings are made so obtuse by the air of America that you cannot feel as Catholics and Christians ought to feel this truth—this plain truth—that ONE MAN CANNOT HAVE ANY PROPERTY IN ANOTHER MAN. There is not one of you who does not recognize that principle in his own person. Yet we perceive—and this agonizes us almost to madness—that *you*, boasting an Irish descent, should, without the instigation of any pecuniary or interested motive, but out of the sheer and single love of wickedness and crime, come forward as the volunteer defenders of the most degrading species of human slavery. Wo! Wo! Wo!

"There is one consolation still amid the pulsations of our hearts. There are—there *must be* genuine Irishmen in America—men of sound heads and Irish hearts, who will assist us to wipe off the foul stain that Lord Morpeth's proven charge has inflicted on the Irish character—who will hold out the hand of fellowship, with a heart in that hand, to every honest man of every caste and color—who will sustain the cause of humanity and honor and scorn the paltry advocates of slavery—who will show that the Irish heart is as America as benevolent and as replete with charitable emotions as in any other clime on the face of the earth.

"We conclude. The spirit of democratic liberty is defiled by the continuance of negro slavery in the United States. The United States, themselves, are degraded below the most uncivilized nations, by the atrocious inconsistency of talking of liberty and practising tyranny in its worst shape. The Americans attempt to palliate their iniquity by the futile excuse of personal interest; but the Irish, who have not even that futile excuse, and yet justify slavery, are utterly indefensible.

"Once again—and for the last time—we call upon you to come out of the councils of the slaveowners, and at all events to free yourselves from participating in their guilt.

"Irishmen, I call on you to join in crushing slavery, and in giving liberty to every man of every caste, creed, and color.

"Signed by order,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL, Chairman of the Committee."

 REMEMBER AND EMULATE THE EXAMPLE OF

GENERALS SHIELDS, MEAGHER, CORCORAN, AND MULLIGAN,

IRISH-AMERICAN DEMOCRATS OF THE JACKSONIAN O'CONNELL STAMP; BRAVELY
BATTLING FOR THEIR ADOPTED COUNTRY.